1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

Chapter Five

The Desa in its Relation to Other Legal Communities

628 631 Let us in closing consider the ties between Tĕnganan and the royal authorities of Karangasĕm on the one hand, and on the other those between Tĕnganan and other villages.

It is clear from various stipulations in the *desa* constitution (which, as was seen above, is a record of what could be remembered of the old charter destroyed by fire) that the ruler who drafted the original charter had the aim of making Tĕnganan a *pĕrdikan desa*. When I inquired of Anak Agung Agung Bagus Jĕlantik, the head of the former ruling family of Karangasĕm, why Tĕnganan enjoyed such a large degree of autonomy, and why after the fire the people of the village went to Klungkung to request a new constitution, he was unable to give an explanation: Tĕnganan had been left to its own devices even in early times. Nor do the people of the *desa* itself know why it occupies such an exceptional position among the villages of Karangasĕm, though the views of the villagers as to their relation to Karangasĕm and to the whole of Bali show that historical developments have played a rôle.

According to Tĕngananese tradition, the ruler of Bedahulu made Tĕnganan a *pĕrdikan desa* and granted it a charter. Now the successor to Bedahulu is the *dewa agung* of Klungkung, and the ruler of Karangasĕm is no more than his viceroy; hence the Tĕngananese consider only what the *dewa agung* has ordained to be valid for their *desa*, and the boundaries of the various principalities have little significance for them: above the village level they recognize only the whole of Bali.

How much alive these views still are became clear to me during a session of the Karangasĕm council at which discussion was devoted to the proposal of the Netherlands East Indies authorities

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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to create councils in each region of Bali, plus an all-Bali council above them. Acceptance of the proposal would mean that the existing Karangasĕm council had to give up various powers, and not only Anak Agung Agung seriously objected to this, but also all but one of the council members. That one was the Tĕngananese I Nĕngah Tanggu, who declared himself in favour of the proposal for two reasons. "We are all Balinese", he declared, "no matter where we live, and so it is logical for Balinese affairs to be handled by an all-Bali council." And moreover: "We must have confidence in the government at Batavia, which is certainly of good will in regard to the Balinese." Anak Agung Agung Jĕlantik labelled this the answer that might be expected from the *Bali-aga*.

In earlier times the *desa* of Tĕnganan was even more independent of the royal administration than it is today. No services were rendered and no taxes were paid, either in money or in kind. Each year the *desa* presented the ruler a tributary gift in lieu of meeting royal rights such as the claim to property of people dying without children, the usual fees on weddings, and land taxes, and each year a fifth of that gift was returned to the *desa* as a sign that the relationship between the ruler and the village was to continue in the same way.

The war with Sibĕtan cost Tĕnganan a part of its independence. According to the Tĕngananese, this war took place roughly two hundred years ago, and the dating must be more or less accurate, for the *Kaki Wayan Karangasĕm mur ring Juring* of Tĕnganan tradition can, I believe, be identified as the second Balinese prince to hold sway over Karangasĕm and Lombok. This ruler came to the aid of Tĕnganan against its highly remarkable neighbouring *desa* Sibĕtan, but his assistance had to be rewarded by the cession of several *sawahs* (which are still the property of Anak Agung Agung of Karangasĕm and certain private individuals), by the introduction of a *pajĕg* levy for part of the Tĕngananese *sawahs*, and by soccage service to the court. Desiring to protect Tĕnganan against Sibĕtan for all time, Kaki Wayan of Karangasĕm also ordered the creation of a frontier guard of a few families from

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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most of the night was spent watching cockfights, plays, and dances. 517

Most important of *bandjar* property is a little communal temple (*pamaksan*). If the *bandjar* grows beyond the function of village quarters, or "ward," its *pamaksan* temple may become a temple of "origin"; then they will build their formal village temple (*pura desa*), their temple of the dead, out in the cemetery, and, having the three reglementary temples (*kahyangan tiga*) that every complete community needs, they will ask for independence from the village and will become a full-fledged free *desa*. 346 778 621

In the old mountain villages the *desa* system has remained untouched by the influence of the princes. Before the advent of the Dutch, they controlled their states through district landlords, the Pungawas, usually members of the prince's family, who appointed lesser tax-collectors, the Perbekel, one in every village. A Perbekel ruled only with the interest of his master in mind, often disregarding the local *adat*, with the result that he was regarded as an intruder and remained a complete outsider in the affairs of the village. Thus the system was saved because these agents had to be content with collection of taxes and the enforcement of princely orders. But the Balinese could always find regulations to curtail the power of the princes, and if their demands interfered too much with traditional institutions, the people simply boycotted them and refused to obey. 184 621 631 [626]

Following the conquest of Bali, the Dutch found the *desas* divided into many small spheres of influence: the princes, the *desa* chiefs, *bandjar* heads, and so forth. In the hasty reorganization of the political system they centralized the Government for control of the complex conglomerate of *desas*, logically enough, following the system of the princes, creating Government districts headed by Dutch officials assisted by the former landlords. They preserved the prince (Regent), the Pungawa, and the Perbekel to see that the taxes were paid. Finding the *desa-bandjar* relationship incompatible with Western management, they re- 631 621 648

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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621 631 648 divided the villages, often in an arbitrary way, and renamed the towns and *bandjars*, ignoring their traditional connections. The *desa* became simply any "big" village, and the *bandjar* was simply "hamlet" or "quarter of the village." What was close by was joined together, and what was separated by distance was cut off, forming the so-called Government *desas* and Government *bandjars*. There are cases of *bandjars* merged into one, and small *desas* degraded into *bandjars* or joined with other small *desas* to make a large *desa* worthy of the name, despite the fact that it might have more than one *balé agung*. These new villages exist in official documents, but not in the Balinese mind, forcing the people to make a strong distinction between the "Adat Desa" and the "Gouvermen' Desa."

LAW AND JUSTICE

627 A "bad man" does not have a chance in the strict communal Balinese system. Everyone is so dependent on the co-operation and goodwill of others that he whose conduct is not good, or who in some way fails to be in harmony with his community, becomes a boycotted undesirable.

681 In Bali moral sanctions carry greater weight than physical punishment; light faults bring automatic fines, the confiscation of property, or temporary suspension from the society; but the punishment for major offences range from the dreaded boycott from all *desa* activities to permanent exile, total banishment from the village. Since the death penalty has been abolished by the Dutch, the fearful formula of declaring a man "dead" is now the capital punishment. A man expelled from his village cannot be admitted into another community, so he becomes a total outcaste — a punishment greater than physical death to the Balinese mind. It [762] often happens that a man who has been publicly shamed kills himself.

671 In the *adat* law of every village the line of conduct for every act of the villagers is carefully set down. In a general way, the most serious crimes are those that seriously impair the well-being of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Alongside the Balinese commune is the contrasting influence of mediæval princes who have tried, without success, to abolish the village organization and the religion that motivated it, to replace it by feudal rule with an official cult under their control. Passive disobedience at first, and Dutch supremacy later, left the princes in the position of impoverished nominal aristocrats, who, despite the fact that they represent the Government, are excluded from the administrative management of the villages. Through their co-operative societies, the *bandjars* and *subaks*, the Balinese have recaptured some of their village autonomy. However, the communal system has suffered considerably in the feudal territories where the princes have held sway; the communal lands sometimes became part of the estate of the local prince, who gave grants of lands to his vassals in exchange for servitude, and gradually ownership of the land in these districts became more and more individualistic, developing a class of organized small landowners. Village ground cannot legally be disposed of, but *sawas* have been pawned when there was great need of ready cash. Land has never become a commodity, however, and today the agriculturist is protected to a certain extent by the law forbidding the sale of agricultural lands to foreigners, perhaps one of the wisest laws passed by the Dutch Government.

Economic inequality is not as striking in Bali as elsewhere. Until recently almost everybody wore the same type of clothes, all went barefoot and lived in thatched houses. At first sight they all seemed happy and prosperous. The majority of the population has a roof, enough to eat, and some big silver dollars buried under the earthen floor of the sleeping-quarters. Yet there are some who are extremely poor while others are considered rich. There are people without lands or a house of their own, living a parasitic life of slavery, a remnant of feudalism, attached to the household of a master and eating whatever is given them. A rich family is one who has sawas, a house with a gate of carved stone, a large rice granary, an ornate family temple, and a well-built pavilion for guests. They may have some fine cloths put away

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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musicians, and even squirrel-chasers, to the great agricultural, fishing, village, and ward associations that control the internal government of the communities. Every one of their activities is managed, not individually, but communally, with every active member having a vote and a voice in every enterprise. Naturally, individualism did not develop in the strict communalistic society; individual names are hardly ever used and they call one another "brother," "father," "teacher," or "grandfather." All art is anonymous and only recently have painters begun to sign their works, owing entirely to the influence of Europeans. This, however, did not kill individuality of expression; it is easy to detect the authorship of a certain painting or a sculpture if one is familiar with the author's work, every notable actor or dancer has his own unmistakable way of performing standard dances or improvising lines for a play, and no two orchestras play alike.

In the larger towns and in the districts where the princes held sway, landownership became more individualistic, but elsewhere the right of landed property is not recognized as absolute and an undesirable member of the community cannot hold property given to him or to his ancestors against the will of the village council. A landowner cannot sell his property within the jurisdiction of the village without authorization from the council and it can be confiscated if he misuses it or if he abuses his privileges.

Instead of the familiar exploitation, enslavement, and economic inequality imposed on the population by a ruling class of aristocrats or bureaucrats so often found in countries where the government is centralized in individuals, in Bali we find an economically independent majority that is truly democratic because every representative villager, regardless of his caste or his wealth, is an active member of the village council with an equal voice in village affairs and with equal duties to perform. The government of the villages remained impersonal and with a minimum evidence of even its existence, because power was equally divided among the members of the various councils, and the executive officials, such as *kliangs*, council heads, treasurers, and so forth,

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER THREE

Ceremonial Appearances of Rangda and Barong

Village temples in Bali are linked together in a given area by hereditary ties or because of allegiance to a princely house or to that of a Brahmana high priest. Thus to a head temple on the day of its yearly festival will come the members and the priests from a number of tributary temples round about, bearing their gods in procession, accompanied by their *gamelan* orchestras, with spears and banners and all ceremonial regalia, and bringing also the Barong and the Rangda. To the great temple Poera Panataran at Kesiman (in the vicinity of Den Pasar, Badoeng District) there come year after year as many as a dozen Barongs with Rangdas, and with them their "followers," who customarily go into trance, draw krisses, and stab themselves (*ngoerck*) as a part of the manifestation of the power of their masked figures. At times informants will explain to Europeans that this is a "battle of the witches," that they are matching their power. Actually there is no encounter between the witches.

A film record of one of these ceremonial occasions at Kesiman shows a curious division in the behavior of the entranced followers which I want to point out here, for it throws light on the attitudes of some of the subjects we were able to study more intimately and in greater detail. Briefly stated, it is that while some of the temple members wear (Balinese say *njaloek*, more literally "bear") the masks and very often go into trance in their roles, and while other temple members seize a kris and begin to stab themselves in trance, among the entranced are some who take instead the characteristic Rangda attitudes, the arms extended and the fingers abducted (*kapar*, the "startle pose"), bending backward and forward from the waist and emitting the characteristic Rangda sounds, "Wha! Wha!"—long drawn out yowls of horrific glee; these last are said to be entered by the god of the Rangda, though it is not their ceremonial function at the moment to impersonate her. It appears also that these characteristic sets of patterned trance behavior may be used alternatively by both sexes, and may constitute a formalized track for crossing sex lines. Rangda is, in my experience, always played by a man. In the formal Barong play, men draw krisses and attack the Witch; then, overcome by her power, they turn the krisses on themselves. Women,

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

575 sons inheriting the fathers' memberships. Some of them build up quite sizeable treasuries and profits to divide among the members, some have yearly feasts of celebration, others even lend their earnings at interest.

[181] As seka loyalty is a major value in Balinese culture, these voluntary groups are not just peripheral organizations but a basic part of Balinese social life. Almost every Balinese belongs to three or four private seka of this sort, and the alliances formed in them balance off those formed in the more formally organized sectors of Balinese social structure in the complex cross-cutting social integration characteristic of the island. From one point of view, all of Balinese social organization can be seen as a set of formal and voluntary seka intersecting with one another in diverse ways.

7. Common legal subordination to a single government administrative official.
634 In addition to hamlet, irrigation society, and Kahyangan-Tiga temple organ-
631 ization, there is another sort of territorial unit at the rural level which stems
621 from the organization of the Indonesian governmental bureaucracy as it reaches down into the Balinese countryside. This is the *perbekelan*, so called because it is headed by an official called a *Perbekel*. Before the Revolution the Perbekel was appointed by his Colonial superiors; since it, he is elected by his constituency. He still serves until either he retires or a movement to unseat him develops. He is always a local man, in most cases set apart from his neighbors
[554] only in having somewhat more education (although in line with the traditions of Balinese statecraft, higher titled people tend to be preferred for the role). He has under him anywhere from two to a half dozen *Pengliman*, also local men, also elected, each with his own bailiwick within the perbekelan. Both Perbekel and Pengliman are paid, but not very well, by the Government according to the number of kitchens in their domain. As it is through them that the policy directives, propaganda exhortations, and social welfare activities of the Djakarta political elite filter down to the mass of the peasantry and from them that reports on local conditions start back up, they form a kind of rural civil service, a miniature administrative bureaucracy constructed out of local elements.

As might be expected, the arbitrarily drawn boundaries of perbekelan do not, save in the odd case, coincide with any other unit in Balinese society, past or present; rather, they group from four to ten hamlets into what seemed to logical, efficient Dutch administrators to be logical, efficient administrative
[628] units. The result is that the hamlets involved not only may have no traditional ties with one another but may even be traditionally antagonistic, while other hamlets of long and continuing association may be separated by perbekelan boundaries. The Perbekel is thus placed in a rather anomalous position for, although his superiors tend to regard him as a "village chief" and expect him to have important traditionally based executive powers, his constituents tend to regard him as a government clerk and consequently not directly concerned with local political processes at all, the direction of which they conceive to lie in the interlocked hands of the temple, hamlet, irrigation society, kin group, and voluntary organization chiefs. The Perbekel is not governing an organic unit, but one which in most cases feels rather little internal solidarity at all and,

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

though he may have some traditional status in the particular hamlet within the perbekelan of which he himself happens to be a member, he is unlikely to have much in the others.

As the Indonesian state increases its activities in an attempt to bring the country into the modern world, the Perbekel both becomes more and more important and feels more and more keenly the uncertain nature of his position. The degree to which he is able to assert his role, to secure his dominance over traditional leadership in matters concerning the national state, and to make a true political unit of the perbekelan varies with several factors: whether or not he is energetic and intelligent, whether or not he is the descendent of a traditional local ruling family, whether or not his perbekelan happens to include hamlets having long-term bonds with one another, whether or not there are a number of young, educated men who will support and encourage his "modernization" efforts, and so on. As with the other planes described, the role of the *perbekelan* unit in rural Balinese social structure is not describable in terms of any static typological construct, but can only be seen as ranging over a certain set of organizational possibilities.

THREE BALINESE VILLAGES

Thus far in the analysis of Balinese rural social structure the concept "village" has been studiously avoided, mainly because it is used by the Balinese in several mutually contradictory ways. Sometimes "village" (*desa*, a Sanskrit loanword) is used as a synonym for bandjar (the basic rural political unit); sometimes to refer to the Kahyangan-Tiga (temple congregation); sometimes, especially by urbanites and government officials, to the region under a single Perbekel; and, perhaps most commonly, for a vaguely demarcated region in which the planes of organization intersect in such a way that the people living within the region have rather more ties with one another than they do with people in adjacent regions. In this last and rather fuzzy sense, "village" refers to the integrative as opposed to the analytic aspects of rural social structure, and it is in this sense that the term will be used here. A village is not a hamlet, a temple group, or a perbekelan, but a concrete example of the intersection of the various planes of social organization in a given, only broadly delimited locality.

1. *Njalian.* In pre-Dutch times the seat of a minor lord and a secondary market center, Njalian lies at the western edge of the former kingdom and present regency of Klungkung, and is one of the more complexly organized villages of Bali. In Njalian virtually nothing is coordinate with anything else and the crisscrossing of loyalties reaches an almost unbelievable degree of intricacy. The perbekelan of Njalian—the present Perbekel is the head of the traditional ruling house, a *Tjokorda* by title—contains the rather large number of about 3,000 kitchens distributed among eight hamlets, six contiguous within one large settlement cluster and two spatially isolated some two or three kilometers away. There are four sets of Kahyangan-Tiga temples. To one set belong the members of four of the contiguous hamlets, to a second set belong

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

proverb.) Similarly, when a dadia is working at a temple festival, or whatever, the sub-dadia ties within the dadia are considered to have no reality and do not act as a basis for subgroup differentiation.

The second rule sets forth a hierarchy of precedence in which the needs of the hamlet outrank those of the dadia, those of the dadia outrank those of the sub-dadia, and those of the sub-dadia outrank those of voluntary groups. For example, if the hamlet as a whole wishes to harvest the fields of its members, then it has priority. The whole bandjar must harvest and does so as a group, with no internal differentiation. If the hamlet doesn't wish to harvest (per decision of the hamlet meeting—then the dadia have next rights, unaffiliated families either banding together or yielding their rights to one or another of the dadia. If the dadia also decides not to harvest, then the sub-dadia may; if the sub-dadia have no immediate needs then the task is surrendered to voluntary groups. The combination of these two rules of procedure—one prohibiting multiple bases of affiliation for a single task, one establishing an order of precedence—acts as a major integrative mechanism in this otherwise rather faction-prone village.

3. *Blaju*. Unlike Njalian, Blaju is not the name of a perbekelan, and unlike Tihingan, it is not the name of a fairly well defined village unit within a perbekelan. Rather, it is the name for a broadly defined region of about six square miles at the eastern edge of the Regency of Tabanan within which the influence of a particular ruling family was preponderant in the pre-Colonial period and to a great extent continues so today. As such, Blaju forms a minuscule state within a state, and its pattern of organization is characterized primarily by a stress on territoriality and caste (or title) as bases for social affiliation. Perhaps more than any other area of Bali, Blaju approaches the common stereotype of peasant social structure as being organized in terms of a pyramid of increasingly inclusive territorial units—barrios, villages, subdistricts, districts, and the like—each unit ruled by an attached political official of appropriate status. But, unfortunately for the sort of theory which would like to see in this system a survival of an "original" Balinese pattern from which all else could be adjudged a "deviation," this hierarchical territorialization is a quite recent phenomenon, occurring as a consciously motivated social innovation explicitly designed to intensify social integration.

The area commonly denominated as Blaju contains four perbekelan, three contiguous, one a kilometer or so to the north. The members of these four perbekelan—about 1500 kitchens—support a common set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples, a rather unusual circumstance, for commonly Kahyangan-Tiga congregations are usually smaller and are less extensive than a perbekelan. Within each of these perbekelan there are four hamlets, and each of these hamlets is further divided into from three to six territorial subunits called *kliran*. A kliran has arbitrarily fixed borders and each adult living within these borders is ipso facto a member of that kliran. It is the kliran, averaging eighteen to twenty kitchens, which performs most of the important day-to-day social functions, and it is the basic cooperative work unit in planting-harvesting, ritual, and the

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

like, having its own independent treasury, rice shed, and meeting place. For larger and more important local tasks the klirans of one hamlet will fuse as a single unit; in the same way hamlets unite within perbekelan for affairs of government, and perbekelan unite within Blaju as a whole to support the Kahyangan-Tiga temples. As the irrigation societies in the Blaju area are small and land holdings are not so scattered, irrigation societies tend to be more or less informally identified with the perbekelan and hamlets closest to them, so that the whole system becomes territorialized through and through.

At the geographical center of this whole territorial complex, facing the market and the main crossroads, lies the "palace" (*puri*) of the ruling family, a walled-in, shabby-genteel complex of houseyards, temples, alleyways, and open courts about a city block square, tightly packed with more than five hundred people comprising a single Vesia-level dadia. The head of this dadia, Anak Agung Ngurah Njoman, is at the same time customary law chief for the whole area of Blaju—i.e., the four perbekelan within the Kahyangan-Tiga set. Though largely an honorary position concerned with giving advice in matters of custom, this apical role symbolizes the continuing dominance of the ruling family in the area. At the perbekelan level, two of the four perberkel are from this family (one of them again being the Anak Agung himself), the other two being ranking Sudra with traditional ties to the "castle."

The role of this elite group is strengthened in many ways. First, unlike many Balinese aristocrats, the Blaju ruling family is not impoverished. About one-fifth of all rice land in the area is still in their hands (though it is owned individually, not collectively, within the dadia), and as almost all this land is sharecropped by Sudra tenants who also have corvée obligations to their landlords, traditional patron-dependent ties remain of central integrative importance. Second, although the members of the ruling dadia live all in one place and so should be members of a single hamlet according to the territorial system, they are by traditional practice distributed among the sixteen bandjar in more or less equalized groups. They are assigned bandjar membership independent of their residence so as to insure a voice (and an ear) for the ruling house in each locality and to strengthen the unity of the whole region. Third, there is in Blaju a major temple, rivaling the Kahyangan-Tiga in importance, which is supported exclusively by all the people in the region who bear Triwangsa, upper-caste titles, thus symbolizing the importance of status and serving to ally all the local high prestige groups with the ruling dadia in its largely successful effort to maintain the traditional stratification system unimpaired.

As noted, this rather neat integration of territorialism and status is not altogether a traditional matter, but stems in part at least from rather recent reforms. The kliran subhamlet pattern, the distinctive element in the whole system, was only instituted in 1940. At this time the hamlet system was very weak, kinship unimportant, and most village functions had fallen into the hands of voluntary seka groups. "People" felt—evidently under prodding from the aristocracy, which began to reassert its leadership at this time—that

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 174] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by